

OC 142  
F55  
Copy 1

State of Oregon and the  
Oregonian Corporation

1979-03-01 00:00:00-08:00

— ENDS

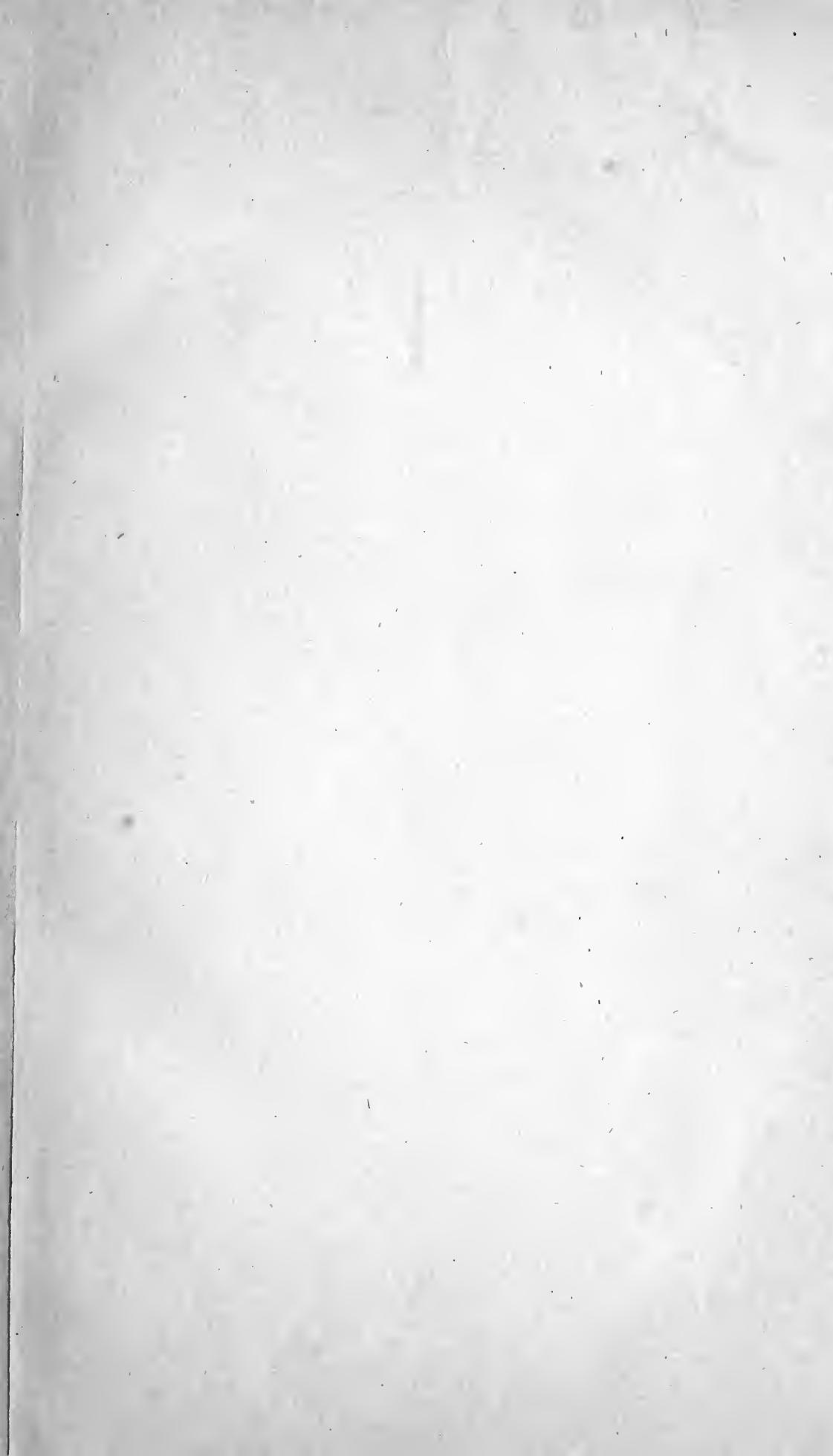


Class DC

Book F55

Copyright N<sup>o</sup> \_\_\_\_\_

**COPYRIGHT DEPOSIT**





# SOURCE STUDIES ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

---

## I

---

THE ROYAL SESSION OF JUNE 23, 1789

---

EDITED BY  
FRED MORROW FLING, Ph. D.

TRANSLATED BY  
HELENE DRESSER FLING, M. A.

---

SECOND EDITION

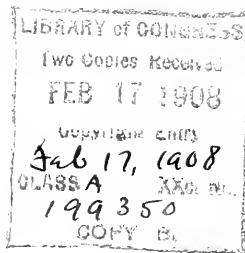


LINCOLN

1907

12142

F55



COPYRIGHT, 1907, BY  
FRED MORROW FLING

CC  
CC  
CC  
CC

## PREFACE.

---

The common practice in college classes in history is to assign each semester a subject for a paper. The student is supposed to know how to collect his material, to criticise it, analyze it, establish the facts, make an outline and write a narrative. Moreover, as a rule, he is allowed no time for this work, but the paper is supposed to be ready at the end of the semester. The results obtained in this way never can be satisfactory. Students who do not know how to conduct an investigation in history should do their first work under the guidance of an instructor. It is for this purpose that this collection of sources has been made. It is intended to serve a purpose somewhat different from that of the collections now in use in the schools. Its purpose is to place in the hands of the student a number of sources dealing with the same topic, thus making it possible for him by actual experience to acquaint himself with the process by which the historian, weighing a mass of evidence, some of it contradictory, arrives finally at the historical fact. Such training can not be obtained from the study of a collection made up of sources that do not record the same data.

In my beginners' course in European history, one classroom hour a week for two semesters is given to the preparation of the paper based upon this collection of sources. The work is introduced by a series of elementary lectures on historical method, the students being required to take notes, to rewrite the notes in the form of a development and to make an outline of method. The source books are then brought into the class and the instructor criticises the first source, the class taking notes. The students are then expected to take up the remaining sources, classifying, localizing and analyzing each in turn. The results

are presented in the form of a brief outline and narrative, accompanied by a citation of the sources by way of proof. The criticised sources are then compared to determine what the historical facts are, the facts are grouped in outline form and a narrative written based upon this outline. Thruout the paper the evidence is cited carefully in footnotes and, when the sources do not agree, the evidence is discussed in the notes and the reasons for the statements contained in the narrative are given. All notebooks are passed in each week and carefully examined.

If the work is properly conducted, the training is severe and valuable. Few students have the slightest conception of what proof means in history, constantly confounding the affirmation of a single witness with the fact established by the agreement of witnesses. Fewer yet understand how to make the narrative reflect the character of the evidence upon which it is based. It is the business of the instructor to make these things clear by specific examples and to insist that the student shall show in his own work that he understands what the critical, careful investigation of a historical topic means.

The equipment of the instructor should consist of training in research and a conscious knowledge of the process of investigation, so much at least as can be obtained from the study of the *Introduction to the Study of History* by Langlois and Seignobos. Before taking up the establishment of the facts I give my class two lectures on the French revolution, dealing with the period up to June 23, 1789. The students' notes are rewritten and outlined. In place of these lectures, the class might be asked to read and take notes on some good history of the revolution in which this introductory matter is satisfactorily treated.

FRED MORROW FLING.

*The University of Nebraska.*

## CONTENTS

---

	PAGE
I. Necker, Jacques. <i>De la révolution française</i> .....	7
II. Léouzon le Duc, L. <i>Correspondance diplomatique du baron de Staël-Holstein</i> .....	10
III. Kovalevsky, Massimo. <i>I dispacci degli ambasciatori veneti alla corte di Francia durante la rivoluzione</i> ...	12
IV. Desmoulins, Camille. <i>Oeuvres</i> .....	15
V. Bailly, J. S. <i>Mémoires</i> .....	17
VI. Mège, Francisque. <i>Gaultier de Biauzat, sa vie et sa correspondance</i> .....	22
VII. Mirabeau, le comte de. <i>Courrier de Provence. Lettres de M. le Comte de Mirabeau à ses commettants</i> .....	25
VIII. <i>Procès-verbal de l'assemblée nationale</i> .....	30
IX. <i>Séance tenue par le roi dans la salle des états-généraux</i> . .....	32
X. Barere, Bertrand. <i>Le point du jour</i> .....	44



# THE ROYAL SESSION OF JUNE 23, 1789.

---

## I.

NECKER, JACQUES. *De la révolution française.* 4 vols. Paris, 1797.

Necker was born in Geneva in 1732 and died at Coppet, Switzerland, in 1804. Early in life he entered a Paris banking house as a clerk. In time he built up a large banking business of his own, made his fortune and acquired a great reputation as a financier. In 1776, he was made minister of finance by Louis XVI and held office until 1781. Matters went from bad to worse and, when the states general were announced in 1788, Necker was recalled to office. He was, however, only a banker, and a statesman was needed to guide the French people through the great crisis of revolution. After a pitiful struggle of two years, Necker resigned in the fall of 1790 and left France a humiliated and disappointed man, his reputation wrecked and his popularity so completely gone that his departure was barely noticed.

The work from which the following extract was taken was written several years after his retirement. The last events referred to are those of October, 1795. In a note in the first volume (p. xii) Necker writes: "It will be noted that this work was finished at the end of 1795. Indecision on my part and some difficulty with the publishers retarded its appearance." The whole work is an appeal to the public and an apology for Necker's conduct.

It was, as I have said, at a time when the interference of the monarch in the states general appeared indispensable, and at a time when all ideas, still vacillating, kept the government in anxiety, that I formed the project of a royal session. I hastened to communicate my ideas to the ministers who voted in the most intelligent manner and they gave them a support which bordered upon enthusiasm. They found the idea courageous, the procedure prudent and they told me so, they repeated it to me in a hundred different ways. There were, afterwards, regular committee meetings with the king, where the whole affair was discussed, and a full and entire approbation on the part of the prince was joined to the then unanimous opinion of his ministers.

A council of state was fixed for the last reading and this council was held at Marly, whither the king had just gone. The reading took place; one or two ministers made observations upon details of the plan, but without importance, and an almost perfect agreement of opinions having reigned during the sitting of the council, it occupied itself with measures of execution, considered whether there would be need for more than twenty-four hours for the preparation of the hall where the royal majesty was to be displayed and the absolute necessity of great haste was unanimously agreed upon. It only remained to fix the day and the next day but one was almost agreed upon. A last word of the king was ending the council and the portfolios were already being closed, when an officer of the king's household entered unexpectedly; he approached the seat of the king, spoke to him in a low tone, and his majesty immediately arose, commanding his ministers to remain in their places and await his return. This message, at the moment when the council was nearly at an end, could not but surprise us all. M. de Montmorin, seated by me, said to me immediately: "We have accomplished nothing, the queen alone would be permitted to interrupt the council of state; the princes have apparently won her over and wish to put off the decision of the king through her mediation." This presumption of M. de Montmorin was only too natural, for already confused rumors had announced that the journey to Marly had been decided upon that the king might be controlled more easily and the plans of the ministry combated in his mind. Yet I doubted these reports, and, as had often happened to me, I trusted to the force of reason the care of combating and obviating all these efforts of the court, that others called intrigues, believing that I knew well both their first causes and their first motives.

The king re-entered the council chamber after a half hour's absence, and postponing the deliberation with which we had just been occupied until a first meeting of the council of state, he suspended his decision, his orders and everything was at a

stand-still. He was, however, told of the difficulties that would arise without fail from this delay; it was represented to him that the rumor of a division among the persons admitted to his confidence would weaken the ascendancy of his authority; it was permitted to warn him that in the midst of the public fermentation, hesitations and uncertainties would multiply suspicions and would also give to party leaders all the time necessary to prepare a redoubtable opposition. The king persisted in his determination. The new council of state was held two days after at Versailles and his majesty judged it fitting to call there, not only his ordinary ministers, but also the two princes, his brothers, and four magistrates who had never had a seat in the council.

We saw at once that a plan had been formed to defeat our measures and to attack the project adopted by the ministry and approved by his majesty. Secret conferences had been held, the king had been worked upon and already his opinion appeared changed. It was principally the union of the orders that they wished to prevent. I believe that I have shown its expediency and necessity, so I will not recall the arguments that I employed to plead this cause. The ministers then in office, most distinguished by their intellect and wisdom, sustained me with firmness and at first only an uncertain advantage was gained over us. The king decided only, that to find a means of conciliating the different views discussed in his presence, they should reassemble at the house of the guard of the seals, and one of the magistrates called to the council by way of exception was charged to consult with me more particularly. We saw one another. I yielded upon everything that was not an absolute necessity in my eyes; and yet each one of these compliances was painful to me, although I was persuaded that the fault of my project was its too great boldness under the circumstances. We separated after a detailed discussion, which ended by an entire accord. He appeared to me fully persuaded that no other change could be asked without changing the nature of the project, and I believed for the second time that everything was ended. I

was mistaken. So much was done and always on the same side, that in a period of twice twenty-four hours, and on the eve of the royal session, the king was prevailed upon not to require the reunion of the orders, not to require it under any condition, and to adopt a system absolutely opposed. (I, 284-290.)

## II.

LÉOUZON LE DUC. L. *Correspondance diplomatique du baron de Staël-Holstein.* Paris, 1881.

Staël-Holstein was the Swedish ambassador at the French court in the years 1783-1792. He was the son-in-law of Necker, his wife being the famous Madame de Staël. On account of his wife, he was naturally a partisan of Necker's and not in sympathy with the court intrigues against him and against the revolution. This was so well understood in Sweden that the king, who was hostile to the revolution, placed no confidence in his dispatches and gave him no confidential information. He was encouraged by his own court that the projects of the revolutionists, as represented by Necker, might become known to the courts of Sweden and France. The king and queen of France were informed of the situation and were on their guard against the ambassador.

The following extract is taken from a letter addressed to the king of Sweden by Staël-Holstein. The original is in the royal archives in Sweden.

No. 116, June 25.

The plan of conciliation of M. Necker, which was favorable to the third estate, was adopted last Friday by the king, when Sunday, Monsieur and the comte d'Artois came into the council. Both, and especially the latter, were of the opinion that it should be modified in such a way that it would become inadmissible for the third estate and very favorable to the protestations of the two other privileged orders. The royal session was adjourned to the next day on account of the resistance M. Necker made to any changes. Monday there was a new council. The comte d'Artois, strengthened by the success of the evening and thinking that he had gained the queen for his side, was more violent than ever. The guard of the seals, Villedeuil, the minister of Paris and the four councillors of state supported him, and the king decided

to maintain the ancient constitution, that is to say, the custom of the three orders, with exceptions, which he was contented to ask and not to command. One would scarcely believe that the comte d'Arteis could have brought himself to advise a course which would compromise so cruelly the royal authority and whose baleful results were incalculable. This conduct is all the more condemnable and inconsiderate when one thinks that its principal end was to disgust M. Necker to the point of forcing him to ask for his dismissal, which he would have done immediately had he not been restrained at this time by the fear of the frightful misfortunes that his withdrawal would bring in its train. He believed that he should give it only at the moment when he had lost all hope of being useful to the nation, to which he was devoted. But profoundly wounded by such conduct, he resolved not to appear at the royal session. This extreme course announced to the king and to all the nation that he did not approve the plans that had been proposed. The third estate, after having heard the declaration of the king, passed a decree by which it rejected in full the plan that his majesty had proposed to it. Meanwhile, the report had spread that the king having declined to accept the plan of Necker, he had chosen the alternative of resigning. This news very soon spread a universal alarm. All of the third estate and a part of the nobility came to him. Two thousand persons were at his door. The king and the queen, not doubting but that M. Necker wished to give his resignation, sent for him. The third estate, the people, accompanied him with cries to the chateau. Necker entered. The king and the queen urgently asked him to remain, making a thousand promises of confidence, due perhaps more to the moment than to their true intention. Urged by his duty of preserving as far as he was able the fortunes of an infinite number of families, who had loaned money to the king only through the confidence that they had in him; urged by the nation and by the king, he promised to remain. When he left, this news spread and never have the transports of the public gone farther, never has the enthusiasm of a

nation had a more touching character. His house was illuminated and the name of the king appeared there and his also. At the same time, it was learned that at Paris, the populace was in such despair at losing Necker that the greatest misfortunes were to be feared, if he persisted in his resolution. I am, however, still ignorant as to whether he has acquired the necessary ascendancy to struggle against the intrigue of the comte d'Artois.

The majority of the clergy went to the national assembly yesterday, and this morning forty-seven noblemen, among whom the duc d'Orléans and the greatest names of France are counted. The majority of the nobility and the minority of the clergy resolved to accept the plans of the king as his majesty proposed them. The third estate, having now become the national assembly, will not accept them. But as the great dispute among them is as to whether they shall deliberate in common upon the organization of the states general, it is hoped that the king will ask the nobility to renounce this modification of his plan and there will only remain the statement of seignorial rights for the nobility and matters of religion for the clergy. All will be agreed. The time is very critical, for the people grossly insulted the archbishop of Paris yesterday, and if they are not stopped, they will take this culpable manner of forcing action. It is unfortunate that the people mix in these affairs, but when once affairs reach such a point, the people are sovereign. (103-105.)

### III.

KOVALEVSKY, MASSIMO. *I dispacci degli ambasciatori veneti alla corte di Francia durante la rivoluzione.* Torino, 1895.

In 1789, the representative of the Venetian republic in France was Antonio Capello. No better accounts of the events taking place in the capitals of Europe during the seventeenth century than those found in the dispatches of the Venetian ambassadors were ever written to any home government by its representative abroad. The Venetian ambassadors were men of experience and spared no pains to inform their government upon all matters of importance. The dispatches of Capello and his successors form one of the most valuable contemporary records of

the revolution that has yet been published. Capello wrote every week from Paris, giving a careful account of the movement of events. Although a conservative, even a timid man, and somewhat fearful for his personal safety, he tried to do full justice to the revolution and to the third estate and to give a true account of what was happening in France.

The original of this letter is found in the Venetian archives.

## Number 187.

Tuesday, the 23d of the present month, was a very interesting day, as I have informed the Most Excellent Senate in my respectful communication. His majesty held the royal session at 9 o'clock in the morning. After a brief discourse, in which he said that it was time to stop the effect of exaggerated pretenses, that he owed it to the constitution of the kingdom to repress the attacks that were made upon it, the guard of the seals read a declaration of the king containing thirty-five articles, and this annuls the action taken by the third estate. Then the sovereign declared that he was going to manifest his wishes, expressed in fifteen articles, which the guard of the seals read and which I have the honor to send to your Excellency, together with the other one within the same wrapper. The intentions of the king and the things asked for were truly excellent in themselves, but this was not the moment to present them. At the close of the general assembly, the third estate, or the commons, remained in the hall and almost unanimously passed the declaration that the national assembly persisted in its preceding decisions. As this general assembly took place contrary to the judgment of M. Necker, who knew well what the consequences of it would be, he asked the king to excuse him from being present at the assembly, at the end of which he unexpectedly asked for his dismissal. The king was hesitating whether he should grant it or not, when, an hour before midnight, the people of Versailles, having learned of what had taken place that day, flocked in the greatest numbers to the chateau, calling out, "Long live Necker." Then the king and the queen asked that he be called, and it was only at the sight of him, and his assurance that he would continue in the ministry, that the multitude dispersed. There was a rumor that the

princes, frightened at the sight of so menacing a populace, called to arms and that the soldiers did not wish to obey, but that is false. It is very true that the French guards, having gone beyond all limits of subordination caused a great scandal in Paris, running about the city intoxicated, and crying, "Long live the third estate!" which served to encourage the frenzied people greatly. But the end of this revolution, which menaced the public tranquility, was fortunate. The day after the royal assembly, the majority of the clergy followed the prudent resolution of uniting with the third estate, where they were received with transports of joy. Thursday, the duc d'Orléans and a part of the nobility, to the number of forty-seven, came, also, to unite with the two orders, that is, with the third estate and with the majority of the clergy, and they were received with tears.

Then the assembly considered the verification of the credentials in common and passed decrees that will be spoken of at another time. To render this union of the three orders in the hall of the states general complete, his majesty wrote a letter Saturday morning to the majority of the nobility and to the minority of the clergy, and both passed a resolution that day to defer to the invitation of the king, and to go immediately, without reserve or protest, to the common hall to unite with the national assembly. When the people heard the news of the complete union, they were joyful; they went in a crowd to the palace, crying in all the courts of the castle, "Long live the king." And when the king and then the queen showed themselves upon the balcony, the acclamations redoubled, at which token the sovereigns wept for joy. This same report having immediately spread in Paris, produced great cheerfulness, especially in the order of the third estate; but now the greatest question will be this, whether they will vote by order or by head, and then it is necessary to see how the third estate will bear itself after this victory, moderation not being a virtue of the people. (29-31.)

Paris, June 29, 1789.

## IV.

DESMOULINS. CAMILLE. *Oeuvres.* 3 vols. Paris, 1886.

Camille Desmoulins was a young Paris lawyer, twenty-nine years of age in 1789. He was poor and without much practice. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the revolution both in word and deed, writing some of the most remarkable pamphlets produced during this stormy time and finally perishing on the guillotine. When he wrote the following letter, he was unknown, having neither made his famous call to arms (July 12) nor written his pamphlets. The extract given below is taken from a letter to his father. I have not been able to locate the original manuscript.

June 24, 1789.

I passed Monday and Tuesday at Versailles. Monday it was announced to us on our arrival, that the royal session was adjourned. It rained. Guards prevented the deputies from entering their hall. It was a frightful spectacle for the good citizens to see our worthy representatives running in the streets without knowing where to assémeble. The Récollects had the shamelessness to refuse their church. The curate of Saint-Louis offered his. There I was a witness of one of the most beautiful spectacles that I have seen in my life, the union of 149 deputies of the clergy. There were many touching discourses on all sides Abbé Ogé is among the number of curates faithful to the commons. The curate of Saint Martin de Noyon remained with the bishop of Laon in the ecclesiastical minority. The next morning, Versailles was overrun by the crowd of strangers gathered for the session. The archbishop of Paris and the guard of the seals were hooted at, derided, spit upon, and so abused that they would have perished from rage and shame, if they had had any spirit. Paporet, who accompanied the guard of the seals in the capacity of syndic of the secretaries of the king, died suddenly from the strain which the general hooting with which they had just regaled monseigneur made upon him. The prince of Condé was slightly hooted; Linguet, recognized in the hall into which he had glided, was seized by the shoulders and expelled by the deputies from

their midst. It is fortunate for him that the people did not recognize him. In the evening, D'Esprémenil came near being overpowered, and the abbé Maury was sheltered from the fury of the people and owed his safety simply to the vigor of a curate who picked him up and threw him into the coach of the archbishop of Arles.

The king came. As M. Necker did not precede him, we were in consternation. A handful of paid children ran beside the carriage crying: "Long live the king!" Some valets, some spies joined in the chorus; all the respectable people and the crowd kept silent. The session lasted thirty-five minutes. The king annulled all that the third estate had done, threw an apple of discord among the three orders, proposed 53 articles of an artificial edict where he pretended to grant a part of what the *cahiers* demanded. He ended by saying: *No remonstrances* and dismissed the session. The nobles applauded, a good part of the clergy did the same. The most gloomy silence in the third estate. The two orders went out, with the exception of thirty or forty deputies who remained with the third estate. It was eleven o'clock. The third estate remained assembled until three o'clock. It protested, confirmed the deliberations of the 17th, and annulled everything that had just been done. M. de Brézé came to tell them to separate: "The king," said Mirabeau, "can have our throats cut; tell him that we are awaiting death; but he cannot hope to separate us until we have made the constitution." M. de Brézé came a second time; the same reply and they continued their deliberations. They declared by a second decree that their persons were sacred and inviolable; by a third decree, they declared that they could not obey the will of the prince, and decreed that the door of the assembly should always be open to the nation. In a word, all showed a Roman firmness and decided to seal our liberties with their blood. All Paris is in an uproar, the Palais-Royal is as full as an egg; the duc d'Orléans is applauded everywhere with rapture. The king passes, no one says a word; M. Bailly, president of the assembly, appears; every-

body clap their hands; they cry: "Long live the nation!" M. Necker gave his resignation; all the deputies went yesterday evening to say farewell; they burst into tears around him. The influx into the court of the ministers was immense. The court was frightened, they called to arms, the soldiers made no movement, the king thought he was lost. (II, 79-82.)

## V.

BAILLY, J. S. *Mémoires.* 3 vols. Paris, 1821.

Jean-Sylvain Bailly was born in Paris in 1736. He was already celebrated among the astronomers of his day and a member of three French academies when, in 1789, the electors of the third estate of Paris chose him as one of their representatives to the assembly of the states general at Versailles. Bailly was the first president of the national assembly, presiding over it on the famous days of June 20, 22 and 23. He was mayor of Paris from July, 1789, to November, 1791. His *Mémoires* describing the events of 1789 (April to October), were written in 1792, between January and June, while Bailly was living in the country near Nantes. The original manuscript is in the library of the chamber of deputies in Paris.

Tuesday, June 23d.

We had been given notice that the first two orders would enter by the avenue entrance, the commons by an opposite door, facing the *Rue des chantiers*, and that the latter would gather in a wooden gallery, which served as a vestibule to this door and where there was ordinarily a café. There was nothing to be done about this inconvenience; but it was felt. They (the commons) met there then. I arrived in good season. We waited a very long time. Murmurs began to be heard. This gallery was too small to contain all the deputies, with whom in truth, were a number of curious people in short mantles, imitating the costume of the deputies. Many of the deputies were outside in the rain. The murmurs redoubled. It was my place to knock at the door; the bodyguards of the post opened to me, and told me that we could enter very soon. Nevertheless, the indignation grew more marked. There was talk of withdrawing. I

rapped again and asked for the grand master of ceremonies; some one replied that it was not known where he was. I was very anxious; I saw that it was possible and even natural that the injured commons would withdraw. And then what an imprudent thing for the ministry to force the king, either to hold the meeting in their absence, or to discontinue it in default of their presence! Very soon the intention to withdraw was manifested by loud *shouts*. The care of the dignity of the commons rested upon me. I rapped again; I asked for the commanding officer. The captain of the guards, duc de Guiche, appeared. I said to him: "Sir, you have admittance to the interior; I beg of you to find M. de Brézé and to warn him that the representatives of the nation can not remain where they are; that they will not wait any longer, and if they are not admitted immediately, they are going to withdraw." A moment after, the door was opened; M. de Brézé came to receive us and we entered. I took the lead, walking between the grand master and the master of ceremonies, and followed by all the members of the national assembly, two by two, and in the most profound silence. On the way, I made M. de Brézé feel all the inconsiderateness and the danger of the measures which had been taken. He informed me that an accident, the sudden death of M. Paporet, one of the secretaries of the king, and to whom they had tried to give some aid, had retarded the entrance; which was quite natural. But, upon entering, we found the two other orders in place and I have always been persuaded that we had been made to wait thus, in order to allow them time to take their places, for fear that the commons, constituted as a national assembly, would wish to take the first places. The coming of the king was not long delayed; he took off his hat, bowed and said: . . . . .

Immediately after this discourse, the king had a first declaration read; but first, the guard of the seals, having advanced to the throne, and spoken to the king upon bended knee, according to the ordinary custom, said: "The king orders you to put on your hats." I put on my hat; a number of deputies from the com-

mons did the same; neither the nobility nor the clergy did so. Doubtless, in the frivolous love of distinctions, they no longer cared to keep their hats on in the presence of the king, when we had our hats on. By putting on my hat, I had wished to preserve and indicate our rights. As soon as I saw the majority without hats, I took my hat off, and everybody remained uncovered. . . . .

(Here follows the substance of the declarations.) That done the king spoke again. . . . .

Then the king had a second declaration read, entitled, "Declaration of the Intentions of the King," and which contains the favors that he grants his people. It offers a plan of reform of abuses, a plan of administration, and the rights granted rather than due the nation.

It was astonishing that in speaking to the assembled nation, the king was made to say, "the king wishes, the king understands"; that he had been made to annul decrees made by the nation, when the supreme leader, the hereditary representative of the nation, can only have a veto; that in the second declaration, which is a species of new constitution, no part in the legislative power is given to the states general; the necessity of the consent of the nation to taxation appears to be a concession rather than a recognition of the national right. Many deputies noticed the expressions, the favours that the king grants to his people; can the king, sole master and sole provisory legislator in the absence of the nation, speak thus to the nation assembled in states general? (*Courrier de Provence*, lettre 13.) During this reading, the commons remained in the most profound silence, while the two declarations were accompanied and followed by much applause from the majority of the nobility and the minority of the clergy; this was right, since it was their work in part. The suspicion was justified because the articles VIII and IX reserve for a separate deliberation the things which particularly interested the two orders, the feudal and seignorial rights, the useful rights and honorific prerogatives of the first two orders, ecclesiastical dis-

cipline, the régime of the secular and regular bodies; that meant that all that was an affair of privileged classes, and not national affairs; it was to establish the first two orders as sovereign judges in their own cause. (*Ibid.*) The reading ended, the king spoke again. . . . .

Unfortunate prince, where have you been advised and how much have you been deceived! After the departure of the king, the entire nobility and part of the clergy withdrew, the commons remained in their place, calm and in silence. The grand master of ceremonies approached me, and said to me: "Sir, you have heard the order of the king?" I replied to him: "Sir, the assembly adjourned to meet after the royal session; I can not dissolve it until it has deliberated." "Is that your reply, and am I to communicate it to the king?" "Yes, sir." And I added to my colleagues who were around me: "I believe that an assembly of the nation can not receive an order." It was said and repeated that I had made this reply to M. de Brézé. The official reply to his message is that which I have just reported. I respected the king too much to make such a reply; I knew too well the regard that a president owes to the assembly to commit it thus without its consent. It was for the assembly and not for me to weigh, consider and declare its rights. In truth, Mirabeau spoke, and becoming angry with the grand master of ceremonies, said about what has since been repeated: "Go tell those who sent you that the force of bayonets is nothing against the will of the nation." This response has been greatly praised, which is not a reply, but a retort that he should not have made, that he had no right to make, since the president alone should have spoken, and which, at the same time that it was out of place, was beyond all moderation. Moderation requires that one should reply only to that which is said. Had bayonets been spoken of, had force been announced, had a menace escaped from the mouth of M. de Brézé? No. He recalled, according to his duty, an order of the king. Had the king the right to give this order? The assembly by continuing the session decided that he had not; and in declaring that

the assembly could not be separated before having deliberated, I had preserved for it its rights and I had continued in the moderation from which an assembly and its president should never deviate.

Workmen began to make the necessary changes in the hall: after having consulted the assembly, I had an order given thereto stop. It was proposed to adjourn until the next day to discuss the declaration of the king. This advice was rejected as soon as proposed. M. Camus disclosed a firmer opinion, in proposing to declare that the assembly persisted in its preceding decrees, while postponing the session to the next day. Abbé Siéyès said: "You are today what you were yesterday." M. Barnave observed "that the decrees of the assembly depended only upon the assembly. The first has declared what you are, the second decides upon the imposts that you alone can consent to, the third is an oath that prescribes your duty. This is not a case of sanction. The king can not destroy what he can not sanction." The discussion was not long. The assembly, in admirable order and a majestic silence, in the presence of forty or fifty witnesses, who were upon the platform, adopting the motion of M. Camus, declared unanimously that it persisted in its preceding decrees. . . . .

Mirabeau made a motion to declare the inviolability of the deputies, and there was a great discussion. I myself opposed it, with the idea that inviolability was sufficiently established by the fact, and that every precaution which would announce uneasiness and display doubt, was apt only to weaken it. Mirabeau replied to me with heat: "You do not know to what you expose yourself! If you do not carry the decree, sixty deputies, and you first of all, will be arrested this night." We were told afterwards, but I have not had occasion to verify the fact, that while we deliberated, the bodyguard received an order to march and to form in the avenue before the hall, and that afterward they had had a counter-order. However it may be, the motion of Mirabeau was adopted, and the following decree was passed. . . . .

I finally came over to this opinion, because I felt that if in-

viability did not need to be declared, it was nevertheless good to make a law that could become a weapon in the hands of each one of the dispersed deputies, a law which should give notice that the nation existed to avenge its representatives, and which would frighten those who would think of rendering themselves instigators of arbitrary and violent measures. These two decrees were passed in the presence of many members of the clergy. Those whose credentials were verified gave their votes at the time they gave their opinions and the others asked that mention might be made of their presence. And the assembly having adjourned to the next day, I closed the session. (I, 206-223.)

## VI.

MEGE, FRANCISQUE. *Gaultier de Biauzat, sa vie et sa correspondance.* 2 vols. Paris, 1890.

Gaultier de Biauzat, a representative of the third estate from Clermont-Ferrand, was born in that city in 1739. During the session of the assembly, he sent frequent—at first, almost daily—bulletins to his constituents, describing the course of events at Versailles and at Paris. The following extract is translated from one of these letters. The original is found in the library at Clermont.

### CONTINUATION OF THE JOURNAL OF THE STATES GENERAL.

Session of Tuesday, June 23, 1789.

Everything was arranged for the good of the kingdom with the exception of some difficulties which were still left to be dealt with upon the subject of the honorary distinctions of the orders, when some ill-intentioned persons sought to frighten the king. For that reason the transactions intended for conciliation were presented to him as capable of unsettling the throne.

The queen, who was the first object of the intrigue, was induced to present herself before the king with the dauphin and interest the father in maintaining the rights of the crown, that were said to be attacked.

The success of the evil thinkers was kept secret and with

caution like the Brienne system, and we were given the frightful spectacle today of the triumph of the aristocracy. The king, deceived, consecrated pretensions destructive of the monarchy.

There were no longer invitations to a general reunion. The too feeble insinuations of the discourse of May 5th for the vote by head have been replaced by imperative instructions to vote by order, except in some few cases; and the distinction of the orders, deliberating separately with the veto badly veiled, has been expressly declared constitutional.

To bring the people over to the party of the disguised aristocracy, the skillful perfidy has been used of gathering some of the principal views of our *cahiers* and forming from them a declaration of the desires of the king, in order that it may appear that the government is mindful of the public good and also to authorize the announcement, made in too expressive terms, that the states general can be dispensed with.

I believe that I have spoken to you of a project which transpired the 16th of this month. Here is its execution. It is a production after the manner of Brienne, that is to say, much evil covered by an apparent and seducing good.

The deputies were obliged to pass through a body of troops to reach the hall of estates, without even having the liberty of choosing from the three avenues that led there and had been open to all up to this day.

The high clergy and the nobility submitted to the call by bailliages.\* In this interval, which lasted nearly an hour and a half, the deputies of the commons were outdoors in the rain. They refused to submit to the call. They then entered and took their seats as usual.

The wishes of the king having been announced, he withdrew with very different ideas from those which should have delighted him the 4th and 5th of May.

The evil-minded among the clergy and nobility applauded

---

\*A judicial district.

twice at the reading of the fruit of their manœuvres. The others and the whole assembly of the deputies of the commons maintained a gloomy silence.

One of the last expressions of the king was for us to meet tomorrow in separate chambers. The clergy went out after the king. The nobility filed out following the clergy. And we remained unmoved. It was attempted to fatigue us by noise and dust. A multitude of workmen was employed for that reason to take down the throne and theatre and remove its tapestries. We suffered in silence.

M. de Brézé then came to invite us verbally, on the part of the king, to retire. The president replied that the national assembly was going to deliberate.

We have deliberated and decreed that we persist in our preceding decrees, and we declared all the members of the assembly under the safeguard of the nation. . . . .

Wednesday, June 24.—Yesterday's session was generally unexpected. MM. Necker and de Montmorin offered their resignations. The king himself saw the danger of accepting them. The best element here called upon M. Necker to beg him to endure the results of his involuntary wrongs. Sent for by the queen and then by the king, he was accompanied by a great multitude of people, all respectable, who traversed the apartments which led to that of the king with him and in spite of him and he was reconducted home as in a triumph.

We have again been surrounded today by bayonets. But our grief gave place to joy when we saw the majority of the clergy bring its registers and enter our hall majestically. The minority is deliberating at the present time (five o'clock in the evening) upon a motion, the substance of which is that they shall constitute themselves as the true chamber of the clergy under the pretext that it has the greatest number of bishops.

Attracted to the street by an unexpected noise, I have just seen an immense populace and troops which filled my neighborhood.

The archbishop of Paris was hooted at in going from the assembly of the clergy and the populace accompanied him to the end of my street where he lives. Some stones were thrown at his carriage and at his windows. I believed it was my duty to speak to the groups of people, as many of my colleagues did, and tranquility was restored.

This same day, at midnight.—I have just learned, at the *coucher* of the king that the archbishop of Paris went to carry to him his complaints. I do not know against whom. I had a conversation with his brother, whom I did not know, and I was obliged to contradict a too violent addition to the recital of the scene by his brother.

I learned that the minority of the nobility will return to us tomorrow and I prophesy that we shall declare ourselves the states general before noon.

I am, with respect, etc.,

GAULTIER DE BIAUZAT.

25, nine o'clock in the morning.—Some hussars and armed members of the Garde-française have just arrived. (II, 135-139.)

## VII.

MIRABEAU, LE COMTE DE. *Courrier de Provence. Lettres de M. le comte de Mirabeau à ses commettants.* 18 vols. Paris, 1789-1791.

Comte de Mirabeau, representative of the third estate of Aix en Provence, was born in 1749. His life up to 1789 had been of such a character that altho he was easily the leader in the national assembly in political genius and oratorical power, he was distrusted and the measures that he proposed did not receive the consideration that they deserved. On arriving in Versailles, Mirabeau began the publication of a newspaper called the *Etats-généraux*. After two numbers had been published, the government forbade him to continue it. He changed the name to *Lettres de M. le comte de Mirabeau à ses commettants*. This title was continued for nineteen numbers, when the paper received its final title of *Courrier de Provence*. The paper appeared twice a week. The extract that follows is taken from the number dealing with the events of June 23, 24, and 25, 1789, and is the thirteenth "letter." Early in the history of the enterprise, Mirabeau made use of two men of ability,

Swiss exiles from Geneva, in writing the paper. They were MM. Dumont and Duroverai. Dumont states (*Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, p. 102), "Beginning with the eleventh letter of Mirabeau to his constituents, it was always Duroverai or myself who edited them."

Altho quite rare, complete sets of the paper are still to be had.

Finally the 23d all the machinery of arbitrary power is displayed; a large guard surrounds the hall of the states general, barriers are established; and at a time when everything ought to inspire confidence, the only thought is to impart terror. The door of the hall is opened again to the representatives of the nation, but it is severely forbidden to the public. The king appears. A gloomy silence is observed; he does not receive that accustomed tribute of vows and of homage, which announce to him the contentment of his people and which he will always obtain when perfidious counsel does not mislead his judgment. To what a degree must it not have been deceived to adopt forms so despotic, after having solemnly abjured despotism!

We do not fear to say it, suggestions foreign to his majesty are recognized clearly in the discourses that he has pronounced in the royal session. These discourses are public and without doubt it is permitted to discuss the principles which they contain, principles that his majesty would never have sustained if he were not surrounded by aristocrats and ministers sworn to despotism. We are all the more authorized to believe it, because one finds in these discourses expressions truly paternal, maxims of public good which contrast with the formulas of tyranny.

In the opening speech of the session, his majesty prides himself that the two privileged orders will be the first to propose a union of opinion and sentiment that he regards as necessary in the present crisis.

In the declaration, the king orders that three chambers be formed and that deliberation be by order. Are not these two arrangements contradictory? Can one expect this union which is so desirable of opinion and sentiment while deliberating by

orders? Moreover, did the ministers believe that in speaking to the national assembly that it was permissible for the king to make use of the imperative expressions which have been for so long a time abused in the *lits de justice*? Can the king annul the deliberation of the national assembly? Even in admitting the royal veto, is not this right limited to a simple opposition to the decrees of this assembly; opposition which, in any case, could not be relative to its interior régime, and which by its very denomination excludes the right of setting aside or annulling?

If any one doubted that the aristocrats had drawn up this declaration under the name of the king or rather the statutes confirmative of their tyrannical privileges, let him read articles VIII and IX, he will there see that great care has been shown to take away the national will, the reform of the seignorial abuses and that the special consent of the clergy will be necessary for all arrangements which would interest religion, ecclesiastical discipline, the régime of the orders and secular and regular bodies.

But are not these objects of general interest and should there be a question of particular interest in a national assembly? Should those who have particular interests to defend present themselves there? Let them address petitions, if they believe their pretensions legitimate; but an opposition of private interest against the general interest is a monstrous thing, and consequently it can not be the intention of the king.

No more can it be in accord with his views that the public be excluded from the sessions. Why should we keep the knowledge of our deliberations from it? What do these words, decency, good order, mean, stated in article XV? Here the indecency would be in the mystery, the disorder, in the secret of our operations. This irregular prohibition could have been imagined only by those who fear that their guilty manœuvres may be unveiled and who could not show themselves without blushing.

After this declaration of imperative wishes, the king pronounced a discourse, in which this strange sentence was noticed: "I have also wished, gentlemen, to bring to your attention again, the different favors that I grant my people"; as if the rights of the people were favors of kings! Then a declaration of the intentions of the king was read, in which some are found truly wise and popular. But since when has the executive power had the initiative of laws? Is it wished to liken us to an assembly of notables?

Besides, the responsibility of the ministers solemnly demanded by the nation is not to be found in this declaration; no participation whatever of the states general in the legislative power is even spoken of. Nothing positive upon the liberty of the press; no mention of the eternal breach of trust, of the secrecy of letters, of the disastrous lottery tax; but, on the other hand, the formal intention of preserving the *lettres de cachet* with useless modifications. Finally the king declares himself the arbiter of what is property or what is not, independently of the nature of things. "His majesty expressly comprises under the name of property, the tithes, revenues, annuities, feudal and seigniorial rights and dues."

Here we ought to observe that at the reading of this article, some nobles had the indecency to applaud and to thus show that they have too much pride for their avarice, or too much avarice for their pride. It was only by means of "Silence, there!" that they were induced to restrain themselves.

This declaration of the intentions of his majesty was followed by a third discourse, in which the king said to the representatives of the nation: . . . . .

So the king, not content to prescribe laws to the states general, and even their by-laws, whether interior or exterior, speaks only by this formula: *I will, I forbid, I order*; so that never has a monarch arrogated to himself more formally all powers without limit and without partition. And it is a good king that courtiers have dared counsel to try such a régime upon the nation that he has felt the need of convoking!

But was it not, then, useless to assemble the representatives of the people, in order to arrive at such an end? If the monarch is free to make laws based upon the *cahiers* of the different bailliages, the ministers had only to have them sent by post; or indeed was this formality necessary? Could they not continue the rôle of legislators that they have played up to this time? Persuaded of the beneficent intentions of his majesty, their last resource is to deceive him upon the means of execution, to persuade him that he has need only of himself to effect the well-being of his kingdom. If, however, at the time the estates were summoned, at a time when the king was incontestably provisory legislator, they did not believe that it was permissible for him to determine the manner of the deliberations, by what right, today when a legislative assembly exists, do they wish to usurp the power of making laws, which does not pertain to them and ought not to? . . . . .

The deputies of the nobility and a part of those of the clergy retired; the others remained in their seats. Very soon the marquis de Brézé came to say to them: "Gentlemen, you know the will of the king." At this one of the members of the commons, addressing him said: "Yes, sir, we have heard the views that have been suggested to the king; and you can not be his representative before the states general, you, who have no seat here, nor vote, nor right to speak, you are not the one to recall his discourse to us. However, to avoid all equivocation and all delay, I declare to you that if you have been charged to compel us to withdraw from here, you ought to demand orders to employ force; for we will leave our seats only by the power of the bayonet."

Then with one voice, all of the deputies shouted: *Such is the will of the assembly.*

M. de Brézé having withdrawn, M. le Camus made the motion to persist in the preceding decrees. It was ably and strongly supported by M. Barnave, and passed unanimously.

The same deputy whose reply to the marquis de Brézé we have reported, then made the following motion: . . . . .

This motion was adopted by a majority of four hundred and ninety-three votes against thirty-four, after a very short debate. (No. XIII.)

## VIII.

*Procès-verbal de l'assemblée nationale.* Paris, 1789.

This is the official record of the proceedings of the assembly, printed by the public printer. Notes of what occurred in each session were taken by the secretaries. After the meeting, the notes were worked up into a connected account, read to the assembly that errors might be corrected, and then printed. The text that follows was translated from "No. 5"—the *Procès-verbal* of each day was numbered—consisting of four pages, printed in 1789.

### CONTINUATION OF THE MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, June 23, 1789, eleven A. M.

The session held in the presence of the king, the clergy and the nobility being united in the national hall.

The king having entered, delivered a discourse announcing the object of the session. He then had read by one of the secretaries of state, a declaration, containing various provisions, in fifteen articles, given at Versailles, the 23d of June.

After the reading of this declaration, the king delivered a second discourse, which was followed by the reading, by one of the secretaries of state, of a second declaration, announced as the "Declaration of the Wishes of the King." It contained thirty-five articles, and was likewise given at Versailles, the 23d of June.

The king delivered a third discourse and retired.

A short time after the withdrawal of the king, a part of the clergy and nobility having retired, the grand master of ceremonies approached the president, and told him that he had heard the order of the king to retire. The president replied to him that he could not separate the assembly as it had not deliberated freely upon the subject. The grand master of cere-

monies said that he was going to give an account of this reply to the king.

The assembly deliberating after the royal session, passed the following resolutions :

“The national assembly unanimously declares its intention to persist in its preceding resolutions.”

“The national assembly declares that the person of each of the deputies is inviolable; that all individuals, all corporations, tribunal, court or commission that shall dare, during or after the present session, to pursue, to seek for, to arrest or have arrested, detain or have detained, a deputy, by reason of any propositions, advice, opinions, or discourse made by him in the states general; as well as all persons who shall lend their aid to any of the said attempts by whomsoever they may be ordered, are infamous and traitors to the nation, and guilty of capital crime. The national assembly decrees that, in the aforesaid cases, it will take all the necessary measures to have sought out, pursued and punished those who may be its authors, instigators or executors.”

Moreover, the assembly adjourned the session until tomorrow at nine o’clock.

These resolutions were passed in the presence of several of the clergy. Those whose credentials were verified, gave their votes and their opinions; and the others askd that mention be made of their presence.

Bailly, President; Camus, Secretary; Pison der Galland, Jr., Secretary. (No. 5.)

## IX.

*Séance tenue par le roi dans la salle des états-généraux, le 23 juin, 1789.  
Paris, 1789.*

This is the official document containing the speeches and declarations of the kind and printed in June, 1789. The translation was made from one of the original printed documents.

*Session held by the King in the Hall of the States General  
June 23, 1789.*

## DISCOURSE OF THE KING.

Gentlemen, I believed that I had done everything in my power for the good of my people, when I had taken the resolution to call you together; when I had surmounted all the difficulties with which your convocation was surrounded; when I had gone half way, so to speak, to meet the wishes of the nation, by showing beforehand what I wished to do for its happiness.

It seemed as though you had only to finish my work, and the nation awaited with impatience the moment when by conjuncture of the beneficent views of its sovereign and the intelligent zeal of its representatives, it was going to enjoy the prosperity that this union procures for it.

The states general have been in session for nearly two months, and they have not yet been able to come to an understanding upon the preliminaries of their operations. A perfect intelligence ought to have been born from mere love of country, and a baneful division fills all minds with alarm. I wish to believe and I like to think that the French are not changed. But, to avoid reproaching any of you, I assume that the renewing of the states general, after so long a term, the agitation which preceded it, the object of this convocation, so different from that which brought your ancestors together, the limitations in the instructions and many other circumstances, were bound necessarily to induce opposition, debates and exaggerated pretensions.

I owe it to the common good of my kingdom, I owe it to myself to cause these baneful divisions to cease. It is with this

resolution, gentlemen, that I assemble you again about me; it is as the common father of all my subjects, as the defender of the laws of my kingdom, that I come to trace again their true spirit and repress the attacks which have been aimed at them.

But, gentlemen, after having clearly established the respective rights of the different orders, I expect with the love of country of the first two orders, I expect with their attachment for my person, I expect with the knowledge that they have of the urgent evils of the state, that in affairs which concern the general good, they will be the first to propose a union of opinion and sentiment, which I regard as necessary in the actual crisis, which ought to effect the safety of the state.

*Declaration of the King concerning the Present Session of the States General, June 23, 1789.*

#### ARTICLE I.

The king wishes that the ancient distinction of the three orders of the state be preserved in its entirety, as essentially linked to the constitution of his kingdom; that the deputies, freely elected by each of the three orders, forming three chambers, deliberating by order, and being able, with the approval of the sovereign, to agree to deliberate in common, can alone be considered as forming the body of the representatives of the nation. As a result, the king has declared null the resolutions passed by the deputies of the order of the third estate, the 17th of this month, as well as those which have followed them as illegal and unconstitutional.

#### II.

His majesty declares valid all the credentials verified or to be verified in each chamber, upon which there has not been raised nor will be raised any contest; his majesty orders that these be communicated by each order respectively to the other two orders.

As for the credentials which might be contested in each order, and upon which the parties interested would appeal, it will be enacted, for the present session only of the states general, as will be hereafter ordered.

## III.

The king sets aside and annuls, as anti-constitutional, contrary to the letters of convocation, and opposed to the interest of the state, the limitations of instructions which, by embarrassing the liberty of the deputies to the states general, would prevent them from adopting the forms of deliberation taken separately by order or in common, by the distinct wish of the three orders.

## IV.

If, contrary to the intention of the king, some of the deputies have taken the rash vow not to deviate from any form of deliberation whatever, his majesty leaves it to their conscience to consider whether the provisions that he is going to present, deviate from the letter or from the spirit of the promise that they may have taken.

## V.

The king permits the deputies who believe that they are embarrassed by their instructions, to ask their constituents for new credentials; but his majesty enjoins them to remain in the states general while waiting, in order to be present at all the deliberations upon the pressing affairs of the state and to give consultative advice.

## VI.

His majesty declares that in the following sessions of the states general, he will never suffer the *cahiers* or the instructions to be considered imperative; they should be only simple instructions confided to the conscience and free opinion of the deputies who may have been chosen.

## VII.

His majesty having exhorted the three orders, for the safety of the state, to unite during this session of estates only, to deliberate in common upon affairs of general utility, wishes to make his intentions known upon the manner of procedure.

VIII.

There will be particularly excepted from the affairs which can be treated in common, those that concern the ancient and constitutional rights of the three orders, the form of constitution to give the next states general, the feudal and seigniorial rights, the useful rights and honorary prerogatives of the two first orders.

IX.

The especial consent of the clergy will be necessary for all provisions which could interest religion, ecclesiastical discipline, the régime of the orders and secular and regular bodies.

X.

The decisions reached by the three orders united, upon the contested credentials, and upon which the interested parties would appeal to the states general, shall be reached by a majority vote; but, if two-thirds of the votes, in one of the three orders, protested against the deliberation of the assembly, the affair will be reported to the king, to be definitely decided by his majesty.

XI.

If, with the view of facilitating the union of the three orders, they desired that the proposition that shall have been considered in common, should pass only by a majority of two-thirds of the votes, his majesty is disposed to authorize this form.

XII.

The affairs which will have been decided in the assembly of the three orders united will be taken up again the next day for deliberation, if one hundred members of the assembly unite to ask for it.

XIII.

The king desires that, under these circumstances and to restore a conciliatory spirit, the three chambers commence by naming

separately a commission composed of the number of deputies that they may judge suitable, to prepare the form and composition of the conference committee, which shall treat the different affairs.

#### XIV.

The general assembly of the deputies of the three orders will be presided over by the presidents chosen by each of the orders and according to their ordinary rank.

#### XV.

Good order, decency, and liberty of the ballot even, require that his majesty forbid, as he expressly does, that any person, other than the members of the three orders comprising the states general, should be present at their deliberations, whether they deliberate in common or separately.

### DISCOURSE OF THE KING.

I have also wished, gentlemen, to have placed again under your eyes the different benefits that I grant to my people. It is not to circumscribe your zeal in the circle that I am going to trace; for I shall adopt with pleasure every other view of public good which will be proposed by the states general. I can say without deluding myself, that never has a king done so much for any nation; but what other can better have merited by its sentiments, than the French nation! I do not fear to say it; those who, by exaggerated pretensions, or by unseasonable difficulties, would still retard the effect of my paternal intentions, would render themselves unworthy of being regarded as French.

#### *Declaration of the Intentions of the King.*

##### ARTICLE I.

No new tax shall be established, no old one shall be continued beyond the term fixed by the laws, without the consent of the representatives of the nation.

## II.

The new taxes which will be established, or the old ones which will be continued, shall hold only for the interval which will elapse until the time of the following session of the states general.

## III.

As the borrowing of money might lead to an increase of taxes, no money shall be borrowed without the consent of the states general, under the condition, however, that in case of war, or other national danger, the sovereign shall have the right to borrow without delay, to the amount of one hundred millions; for it is the formal intention of the king never to make the safety of his empire dependent upon any person.

## IV.

The states general shall examine with care the situation of the finances and they shall demand all the information necessary to enlighten them perfectly.

## V.

The statement of receipts and expenses shall be made public each year, in a form proposed by the states general and approved by his majesty.

## VI.

The sums attributed to each department, shall be determined in a fixed and invariable manner, and the king submits to this general rule even the funds that are destined for the maintenance of his household.

## VII.

The king wishes, in order to assure this fixity of the different expenses of the state, that provisions suitable to accomplish this object be suggested to him by the states general; and his majesty will adopt them, if they are in accordance with the royal dignity and the indispensable celerity of the public service.

## VIII.

The representatives of a nation faithful to the laws of honor and probity, will make no attack upon public credit and the king expects from them that the confidence of the creditors of the state be assured and secured in the most authentic manner.

## IX.

When the formal dispositions announced by the clergy and the nobility, to renounce their pecuniary privileges, will have become a reality by their deliberations, it is the intention of the king to sanction them, and there will no longer exist any kind of privileges or distinctions in the payment of taxes.

## X.

The king wishes that, to consecrate a disposition so important, the name of *taille* be abolished in the kingdom, and that this tax be joined either to the *vingtièmes*, or to any other land tax, or finally that it be replaced in some way, but always in just and equal proportions and without distinction of estate, rank and birth.

## XI.

The king wishes that the tax of *franc-fief* be abolished from the time when the revenues and fixed expenses of the state exactly balance.

## XII.

All rights, without exception, shall be constantly respected, and his majesty expressly understands under the name of rights, tithes, rents, annuities, feudal and seigniorial rights and, in general, all the rights and prerogatives useful or honorary, attached to lands and fiefs or pertaining to persons.

## XIII.

The first two orders of the state shall continue to enjoy exemption from personal charges, but the king would be pleased to have the states general consider means of converting this kind

of charges into pecuniary contributions and that then all the orders of the state may be subjected equally to them.

XIV.

It is the intention of his majesty to determine, in accord with the states general, what the employments and duties shall be which will preserve in the future the privilege of giving and transmitting nobility. His majesty, nevertheless, according to the inherent right of his crown, will grant titles of nobility to those of his subjects who by services rendered to the king or to the state shall show themselves worthy of this recompense.

XV.

The king, desiring to assure the personal liberty of all citizens in the most solid and durable manner, invites the states general to seek for and to propose to him the means that may be most fitting to conciliate the orders, known under the name of *lettres de cachet*, with the maintenance of public security and with the precautions necessary in some cases to guard the honor of families, to repress with celerity the beginning of sedition or to guarantee the state from the effects of criminal negotiations with foreign powers.

XVI.

The states general shall examine and make known to his majesty the means most fitting to reconcile the liberty of the press with the respect due to religion, custom, and the honor of the citizens.

XVII.

There shall be established in the different provinces or generalities of the kingdom, provincial estates composed thus: two-tenths of the members of the clergy, a part of whom will necessarily be chosen in the episcopal order; three-tenths of members of the nobility, and five-tenths of members of the third estate.

XVIII.

The members of these provincial estates shall be freely elected

by the respective orders and a certain amount of property shall be necessary to be an elector or eligible.

### XIX.

The deputies to these provincial estates shall deliberate in common upon all affairs, following the usage observed in the provincial assemblies, which these estates shall replace.

### XX.

An intermediary commission, chosen by these estates, shall administer the affairs of the province, during the interval from one session to another, and these intermediary commissions becoming alone responsible for their conduct, shall have for delegates persons chosen wholly by them or the provincial estates.

### XXI.

The states general shall propose to the king their views upon all the other parts of interior organization of the provincial estates, and upon the choice of forms applicable to the election of the members of this assembly.

### XXII.

Independently of the objects of administration with which the provincial assemblies are charged, the king will confide to the provincial estates the administration of the hospitals, prisons, charity stations, foundling homes, the inspection of the expenses of the cities, the surveillance over the maintenance of the forests, the protection and sale of the wood, and over other objects which could be more usefully administered by the provinces.

### XXIII.

The disputes occurring in the province where ancient estates exist and the protests that have arisen against the constitution of the assemblies, ought to claim the attention of the states general; they shall make known to his majesty the dispositions of justice and wisdom that it is suitable to adopt to establish a fixed order in the administration of these same provinces.

XXIV.

The king invites the states general to occupy themselves in the quest of the proper means to turn to account the most advantageously the domains which are in his hands, and to propose to him equally their views upon what can be done the most conveniently with the domains that have been leased.

XXV.

The states general will consider the project conceived a long time ago by his majesty, of transferring the collection of tariffs to the frontiers of the kingdom, in order that the most perfect liberty may reign in the internal circulation of national or foreign merchandise.

XXVI.

His majesty desires that the unfortunate effects of the impost upon salt and the importance of this revenue be carefully discussed, and that in all the substitutions, means of lightening the collection may at least be proposed.

XXVII.

His majesty wishes also that the advantages and inconveniences of the internal revenue tax on liquors and other taxes be carefully examined, but without losing sight of the absolute necessity of assuring an exact balance between the revenues and expenses of the state.

XXVIII.

According to the wish that the king manifested by his declaration of the 23d of last September, his majesty will examine with serious attention, the plans which may be presented to him, relative to the administration of justice, and to the means of perfecting the civil and criminal laws.

XXIX.

The king wishes that the laws that he will have promulgated during the session and after the advice or according to the wish

of the states general, may experience in their registration and execution no delay nor any obstacle in all the extent of his kingdom.

### XXX.

His majesty wishes that the use of the *corvée* for the making and maintenance of the roads, be entirely and forever abolished in this kingdom.

### XXXI

The king desires that the abolition of the right of *main-morte*, of which his majesty has given the example in his domains, be extended to all France, and that means be proposed to him for providing the indemnity which would be due the lords in possession of this right.

### XXXII.

His majesty will make known at once to the states general the regulations with which he occupies himself for the purpose of restricting the *capitaineries*, to give, furthermore, in this connection, which touches the most nearly his own pleasures, a new proof of his love for his people.

### XXXIII.

The king invites the states general to consider the drafting for the army in all its relations and to study the means of reconciling what is due to the defense of the state, with the extenuations that his majesty desires to procure for his subjects.

### XXXIV.

The king wishes that all the dispositions of public order and of kindness toward his people, that his majesty will have sanctioned by his authority, during the present session of the states general, those among others, relative to personal liberty, equality of taxation, the establishment of provincial estates, may never be changed without the consent of the three orders, given separately. His majesty places them in the same rank with the na-

tional properties, that like all other property, he wishes to place under the most assured protection.

XXXV.

His majesty, after having called the states general to study, together with him, great matters of public utility and everything which can contribute to the happiness of his people, declares in the most express manner, that he wishes to preserve in its entirety and without the least impairment, the constitution of the army, as well as every authority, both police authority and power over the militia, such as the French monarchs have constantly enjoyed.

DISCOURSE OF THE KING.

You have, gentlemen, heard the substance of my dispositions and of my wishes; they are conformable to the earnest desire that I have for the public welfare; and if, by a fatality far from my thoughts, you should abandon me in so fine an enterprise, alone I will assure the well being of my people, alone I will consider myself as their true representative and knowing your *cahiers*, knowing the perfect accord which exists between the most general wish of the nation and my kindly intentions, I will have all the confidence which so rare a harmony ought to inspire and I will advance towards the goal that I wish to attain with all the courage and firmness that it ought to inspire in me.

Reflect, gentlemen, that none of your projects, none of your dispositions can have the force of a law without my special probation. So I am the natural guarantee of your respective rights and all the orders of the state can depend upon my equitable impartiality. All distrust upon your part would be a great injustice. It is I, at present, who am doing everything for the happiness of my people and it is rare, perhaps, that the only ambition of a sovereign is to come to an understanding with his subjects that they may accept his kindnesses.

I order you, gentlemen, to separate immediately and to go to-

morrow morning, each to the chamber allotted to your order; in order to take up again your sessions. I order therefore the grand master of ceremonies, to have the halls prepared.

## X.

BARERE, BERTRAND. *Le point du jour.* 27 volumes. Paris, 1789-1791.

This newspaper was a daily, published by Barere de Vieusac, a member of the third estate and deputy to the states general from Bigorre. The paper contained nothing but an account of the proceedings of the assembly, based upon notes taken in the assembly. It was placed on sale the next day. This enterprising journalism left its mark on the publication in the form of typographical errors and other inaccuracies. The ambition of Barere was to give a detailed, correct and unbiased report of the proceedings of the assembly.

No. VI, June 24, 1789.

First of all the two privileged orders were seated; the national assembly testified its discontent by reiterated murmurs. The two secretaries went to M. de Brézé to complain of the indecency of so long a delay, saying that the assembly was going to withdraw. The murmurs began afresh; the president rapped on the door; M. de Guiche appeared; a vigorous complaint was made because of so long a delay; M. de Brézé was called for.

It was proposed that the assembly withdraw. M. de Brézé arrived. The president said that he should complain to the king of the shortcomings of the masters of ceremony. "Of us, sir?" said M. de Brézé. "Yes, sir. It is high time that we were seated." The masters of ceremonies preceded the president and the members of the national assembly entered two by two in the most profound silence at half past ten.

The throne was placed at the back of the hall in the direction of the entrance of the Menus; at the right were the clergy, at the left the nobility and on the two sides, extending from the middle to the end of the hall, were the members of the national assembly. The four heralds and the king at arms were placed in the center. The throne of the king was raised upon a platform

that occupied the back of the hall as far as the second column. At the base of the platform, around a table, several ministers were grouped; M. Necker was not among them. . . . .

(Here follows an abridged account of the speeches of the king and of the contents of the two series of declarations.)

The king having gone out, the nobility and the prelates retired. The members of the commons remained. . . . .

No. VII, June 25, 1789.

After the departure of the king, several *curés* and all the members of the national assembly remained motionless in the seats that they occupied. A quarter of an hour later, the marquis de Brézé, the grand master of ceremonies, approached the president and asked him if he had not heard the orders of the king. The president replied to him: "Sir, be good enough to address the assembly that has decided that it must deliberate." M. de Brézé did not reappear. A mournful silence reigned in the assembly.

M. Camus took the floor, saying: "The authority of the deputies forming this assembly is recognized; it is also recognized that a free nation may not be taxed without its consent; you have, then, done what you should have done. If, at our first advance, we are arrested, what will happen in the future? We must persist. Nothing is more dangerous than reserves and protestations; this form destroys all rights. Of what are we witnesses? At the opening of the estates, absolute orders. . . . ."

M. Barnave said: "Your action depends on your situation, your decrees depend upon you alone. You have declared what you are; you have no need of sanction. The voting of the taxes depends upon you alone. Envoys of the nation, organs of its will to make a constitution, you are the national assembly and may remain assembled as long as you may judge necessary in the interests of your constituents. Such was your situation yesterday. What has been done today? Is it, then, in keeping with your prudence to abandon the cause of the public thus? Nothing remains for the executive power to do, but to separate you, but

it is due to your dignity to maintain your position, to persist in the use of the title national assembly. Leave no doubts in the minds of your fellow citizens. You do not know, gentlemen, where force would conduct you and perhaps the public indignation that would crush you. . . . .”

M. de Glaizen, deputy from Rennes, having spoken of the indiscreet applause of some members of the two first orders, added: “Absolute power speaks through the mouth of the best of kings, through the mouth of a sovereign, who recognized that the people ought to make the laws. . . . It is a bed of justice held in a national assembly. It is a sovereign who speaks as a master, when he ought to ask advice. . . . Let the aristocrats triumph; they have only a day. The prince will soon be enlightened. No, the prince will not persist in his course. It is liberty that we ought to maintain—the greatness of your courage will equal the greatness of the circumstances, it is necessary to die for the country—you have deliberated wisely, gentlemen. An arbitrary act that is about to ruin the kingdom, that is about to produce anarchy, ought not to terrify you.”

M. de Mirabeau, in supporting the motion of M. Camus, said that he blessed liberty because it ripened such fine fruit in the national assembly; that he was of the opinion that a decree declaring the inviolability of the deputies ought to be passed. “Such a course,” he said, “would not be a manifestation of fear, but an act of prudence, a check upon the violent counsels that surround the throne.”

M. Pétion de Villeneuve took the floor to support the two motions: “An arbitrary act has severed the knot already fastened by the clergy. . . . No consideration without liberty. Our safety lies in firmness.”

M. Buzot said that he would say little, that indignation is not verbose. “The national assembly,” he added, “may not commit perjury. . . . What an assault upon the liberty of the states general!”

M. l'abbé Sieyès contented himself with saying, “Gentlemen, you are today what you were yesterday.”

M. Garat, the elder, spoke at length on the articles contained in the king's declaration, endeavoring to show that they were only an adroit trick to turn the people against their deputies. He spoke with as much sense as force.

M. l'abbé Gregoire spoke with energy, and pretended that to continue to work on the constitution would be to fall in with the views of the king, who was still deceived by those around him.

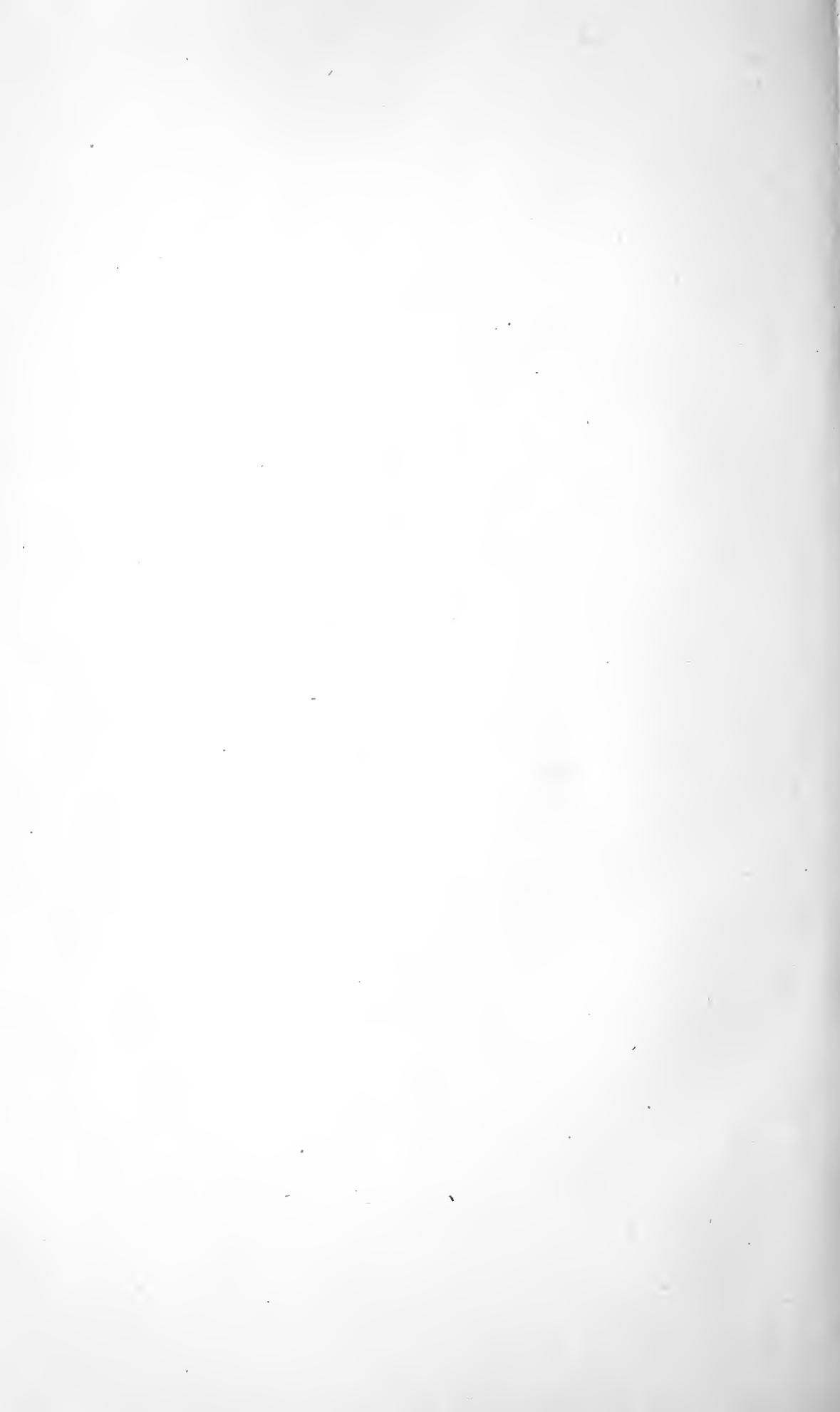
At half past two, a standing vote was taken on the motion of M. Camus. The national assembly declared unanimously that it persisted in maintaining its previous decrees. The members of the clergy asked "that it be noted that the deliberation had taken place in their presence."

The vote was taken in the presence of several officers of the French guards and of some gentlemen, deputies of the nobility, who had remained quiet spectators of the scene.

The motion of M. de Mirabeau upon the inviolability of the persons of the deputies having passed by a majority vote, the following decree was framed:

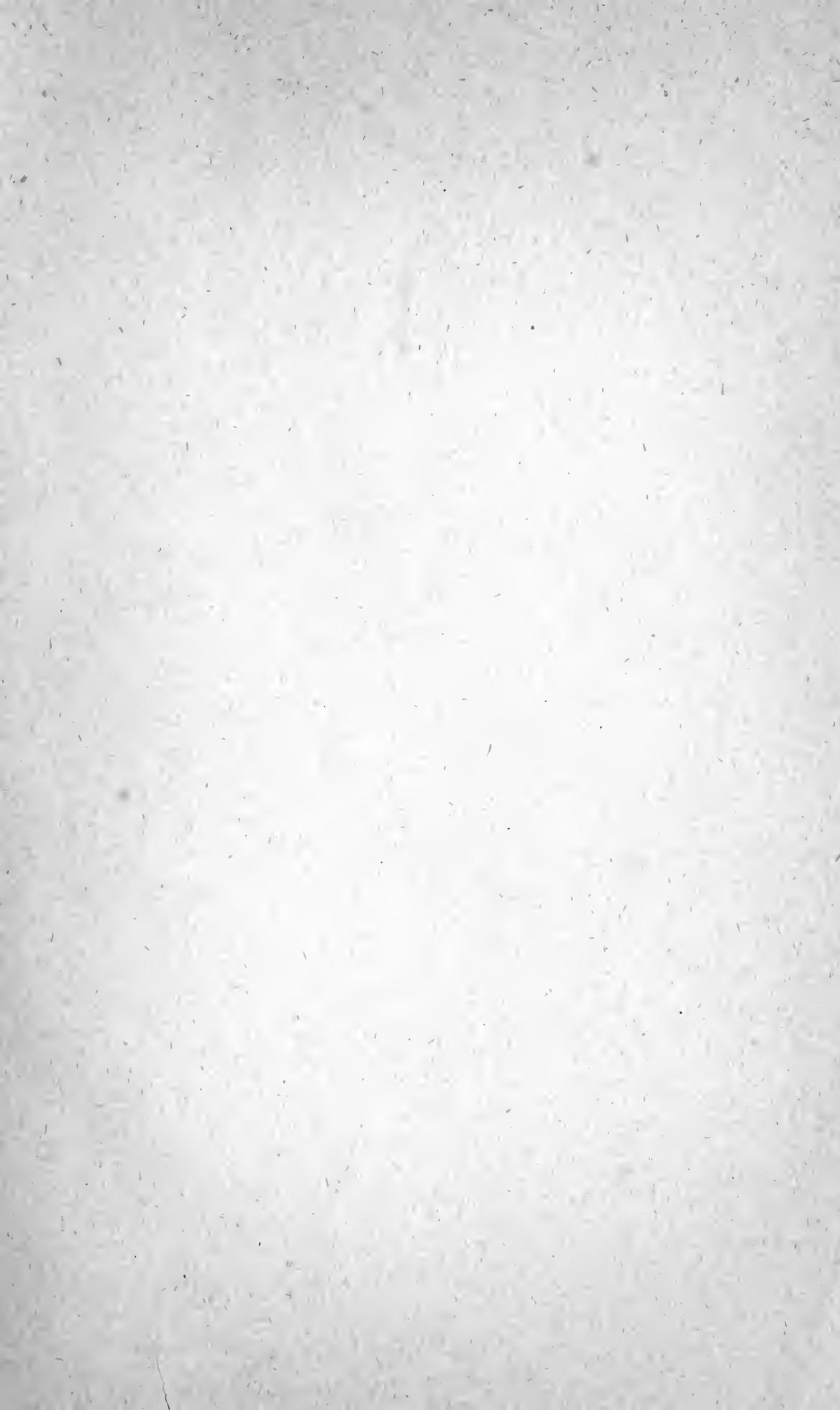
(Here follows the text of the decree.)

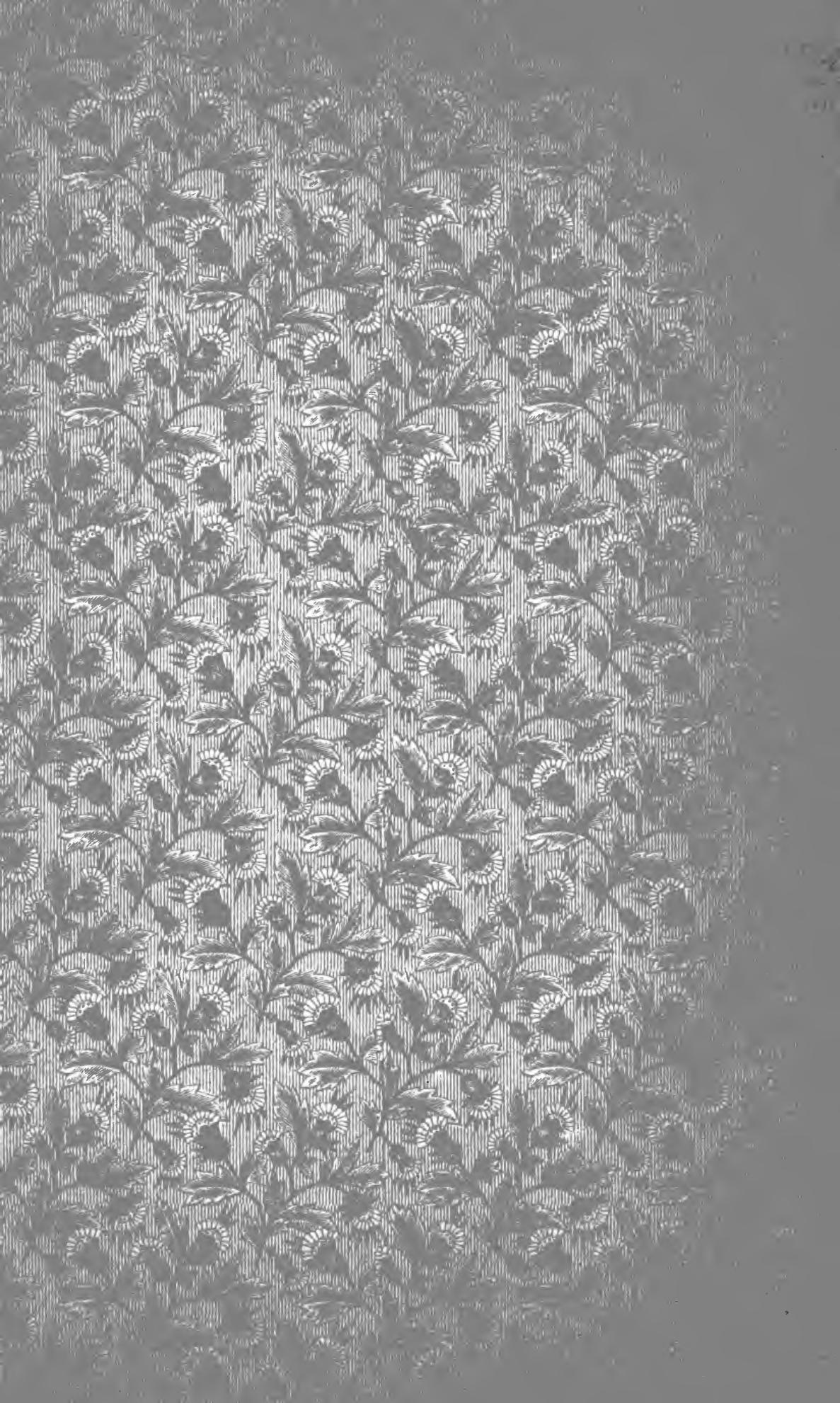
Passed by a majority of four hundred and eighty-six votes against thirty-four.



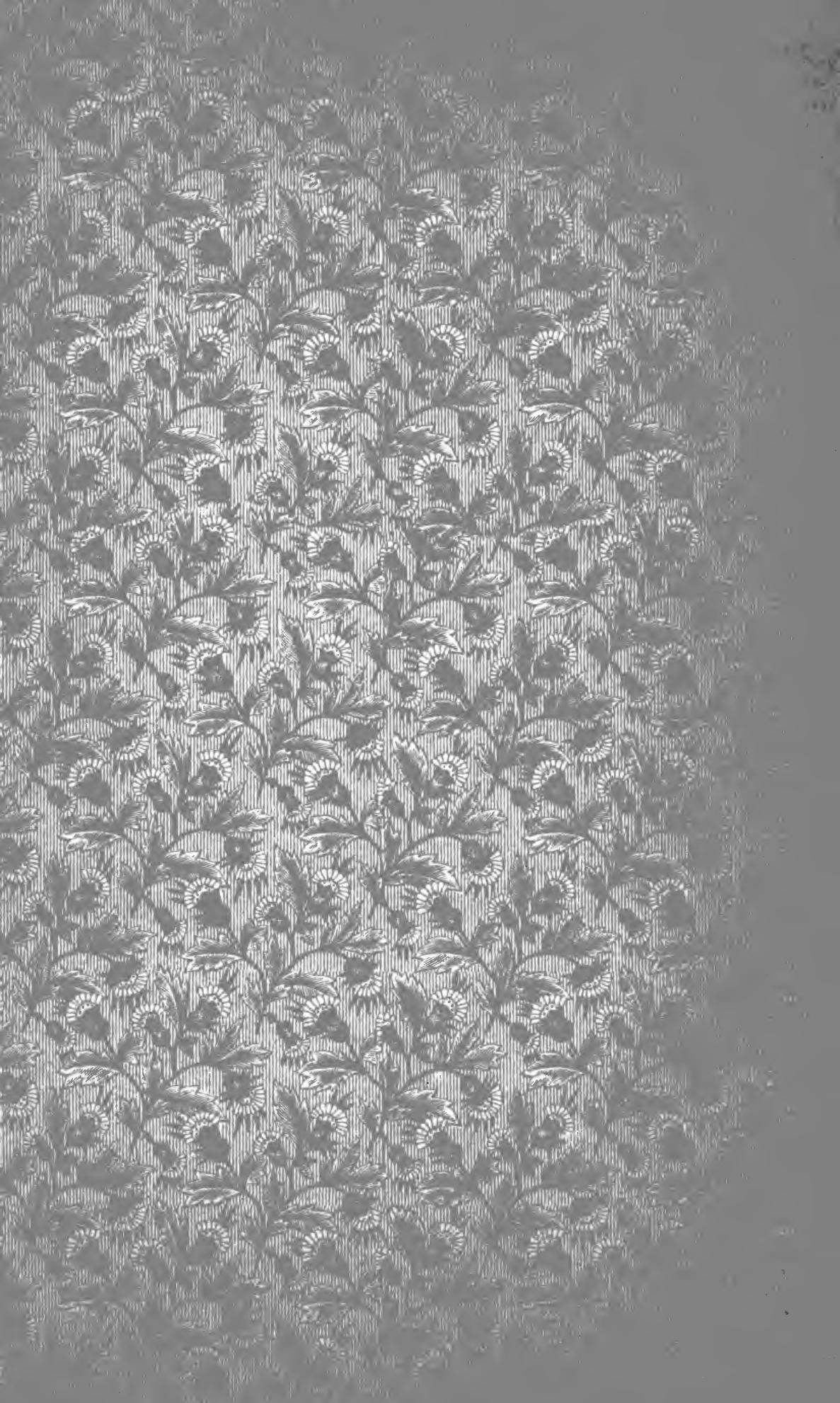


FEB 17 1903













0 019 640 303 6